

## Message Text

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FOLLOWING REPEAT NATO 6454 ACTION SECSTATE INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS

BRUSSELS GENEVA USUN NEW YORK DATED 21 NOV 74

QUOTE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 9 (ONLY) USNATO 6454

EXDIS

DEPARTMENT REPEAT AS DESIRED; SUGGEST SUMMARY AT LEAST BE REPEATED

TO SECRETARY'S PARTY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO. XF

SUBJECT: REINFORCED NAC SESSION ON SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE

EAST, NOVEMBER 20, 1974

SUMMARY: REINFORCED NAC MEETING OF NOVEMBER 20 WAS ATTENDED BY SENIOR

MIDDLE EAST OFFICIALS FROM THE U.S. (ASSISTANT SECRETARY ATHERTON).

AND MIDDLE EAST, MR. VAN DER KUNIN ITALY (MR. ATOLICO) AND FRG

(COORDINATOR OF ARAB AFFAIRS, AMBASSADOR SCHIRMER). THE MEETING,

WHICH LASTED ABOUT TWO AND ONE HALF HOURS, BEGAN WITH A PRESENTATION

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BY ASSISTANT SECRETARY ATHERTON, FOCUSsing IN PARTICULAR ON

SECRETARY KISSINGER'S RECENT MIDDLE EAST TRIP.

ATHERTON REVIEWED BRIEFLY CONSULTATIONS SECRETARY HAD HELD DURING SUMMER AND IN OCTOBER TRIP TO AREA TO EXPLORE POSSIBILITIES FOR GETTING NEXT STAGE OF NEGOTIATING PRECESS STARTED. AS SECRETARY SAID TO NATO AMBASSADORS IN MID-OCTOBER, OUR HOPE WAS THAT HIS NOVEMBER TRIP--AFTER ARABS HAD DEALT WITH PLO/JORDAN PROBLEM AT RABAT SUMMIT--WOULD ACHIEVE AGREEMENT ON MODALITIES AND SOME IDEAS ON SUBSTANCE OF FURTHER NEGOTIATIONS RABAT SUMMIT DECISION TO ENDORSE PLO AND EXCLUDE JORDAN FROM WEST BANK NEGOTIATION. HOWEVER, HAD CREATED NEW SITUATION, NOT ONLY MAKING ANY WEST BANK NEGOTIATION IMPOSSIBLE BUT ALSO RAISING DOUBTS IN ISRAEL ABOUT ULTIMATE INTENTIONS OF PRINCIPAL ARAB NEGOTIATING PARTNERS... NEGOTIATING SITUATION WAS NOW MORE COMPLICATED AND DIFFICULT-- A JUDGMENT SECRETARY HAD STRESSED IN HIS TALKS WITH AREA LEADERS NEW SITUATION, AND ALL HAD AGREED WE WOULD RESUME DISCUSSIONS THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS ABOUT WHAT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO GET NEXT ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS STARTED FOLLOWING SECRETARY'S RETURN TO WASHINGTON IN EARLY DECEMBER.

ATHERTON SAID QUESTION OF GETTING NEGOTIATORS GOING AGAIN NOW HANGS IN THE BALANCE WITH CURRENT UNGA DEBATE AND QUESTION OF UNDOF RENEWAL MAJOR FACTORS IN OUTCOME. AS RESULT OF SECRETARY'S NOVEMBER TRIP, HOWEVER, PARTIES HAD INDICATED DESIRE FOR U.S. TO CONTINUE ITS EFFORTS IN SUPPORT OF STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH, AND WE BELIEVED DOOR WAS STILL OPEN. WE WERE CAUTIOUSLY HOPEFUL. IF PARTIES WOULD NOT LOSE SIGHT OF REALITIES OF WHAT WAS POSSIBLE IN NEXT STAGE. ON SOVIET ROLE, ATHERTON SAID THERE WAS NO EVIDENCE TO DATE SOVIETS HAD TRIED OBSTRUCT U.S. NEGOTIATING EFFORTS. ALTHOUGH THEY OBVIOUSLY WOULD LIKE MORE ACTIVE ROLE AND EARLY RETURN TO GENEVA, FOR OUR PART, WE PREPARED TO SEE RECONVENING OF GENEVA CONFERENCE WHEN ALL PARTIES AGREED TIME AND CIRCUMSTANCES WERE RIGHTS, BUT FELT PREMATURE RETURN TO GENEVA--PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT RABLAT DECISIONS AND UNGA DEBATE--SHOULD CREATE INSTANT STALEMATE OVER PALESTINIAN REPRESENTATION ISSUE.

ALL REPRESENTATIVES WHO SPOKE EXPRESSED APPRECIATION OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE VISITING OFFICIALS. CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION WAS FOCUSED ON THE CURRENT UN DEBATE ON THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE AND THE DRAFT RESOLUTION BEING CONSIDERED AT THE UNGA. DE ROSE  
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(FRANCE). WEIR AND VAN DER KUN ALL REFERRED TO RECENT EC-9 FOREIGN MINISTER DISCUSSIONS ON THS QUESTION AND THE RELATED QUESTION OF PLO PARTICIPATION IN THE EC-ARAB DIALOGUE. THEY REPORTED THE POSITION OF THE NINE THAT THE CURRENT UN DRAFT RESOLUTION IS TOTALLY UNACCEPTABLE SINCE IT DOES NOT RECOGNIZE ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST. THEY ALSO INDICATED STRONG RESERVATIONS ABOUT THE CONCEPT OF PLO PARTICIPATION IN THE EC-ARAB DISCUSSIONS OR AS AN OBSERVER AT UN ORGANIZATIONS. VAN DER KUN URGED THAT

THE ALLIES REJECT OUTRIGHT THE UNGA DRAFT RESOLUTION AND AVOID TRYING TO AMEND IT.

VISITING OFFICIALS AND PERMREPS WHO SPOKE AGREED THAT A FAILURE TO RENEW THE MANDATE OF THE UNDOF COULD LEAD TO ABREAK-DOWN IN THE CEASE FIRE AND RESUMPTION OF HOSTILITIES WHILE AGREEING WITH THE U.S. VIEW THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE NOT THUS FAR INTERFERRED WITH U.S. EFFORTS TO NEGOTIATE A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST, SEVERAL SPEAKERS EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS CONCERNING FUTURE SOVIET WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT THE US ROLE.

OVER ALL, FOLLOWING IMPRESSIONS EMERGED FROM STATEMENTS BY OTHER ALLIES: (1) STRONG SUPPORT FOR STEP-BY-STEP APPROACH AND CONTINUATION OF USG EFFORTS, COUPLED WITH REPEATED EXPRESSIONS OF APPRECIATION FOR SECRETARY'S ROLE; (2) UNIVERSAL UNHAPPINESS WITH COURSE OF UNGA PALESTINE DEBATE AND ONE-SIDED ARAB RESOLUTION, (3) PESSIMISM ABOUT PROSPECTS FOR GETTING NEW ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS STARTED AND AVOIDING RENEWAL OF HOSTILITIES, WITH PARTICULAR CONCERN THAT ISRAEL MAY LAUNCH PREEMPTIVE ATTACK IN LIGHT OF QUESTIONS RABAT AND UNGA DEBATE HAVE RAISED ABOUT ARAB ACCEPTANCE OF ISRAEL'S RIGHT TO EXIST; (4) FEELING THAT ISRAEL MISSED OPPORTUNITY TO AVOID PRESENT DANGEROUS SITUATION BY INFLEXIBILITY ON TERRITORIAL QUESTION AND UNWILLINGNESS TO RECOGNIZE REALITIES OF PALESTINIAN FACTOR; (5) SKEPTICISM ABOUT SADAT'S ABILITY TO RETAIN CONTROL OF SITUATION ON ARAB SIDE AND GO IT ALONE AGAINST SYRIAN AND OTHER ARAB OPPOSITION; (6) SUSPICION OF SOVIET INTENTIONS; AND (7) ABSENCE OF ANY PROPOSALS ABOUT WHAT SHOULD BE DONE BEYOND URGING USG (WITHOUT GREAT HOPE OF SUCCESS) TO CONTINUE ITS EFFORTS AND (IN CASE OF DUTCH AND FEW OTHER REPRESENTATIVES) INDICATING IT WAS TIME TO PUT LIMITS ON GROUNDSWELL OF SUPPORT FOR INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION OF PLO PARTICULARLY NOTEWORTHY WAS ABSENCE OF ANY EXPLICIT REFERENCE TO ENERGY QUESTION OR ARAB OIL POLICY, OTHER THAN PASSING EXPRESSION

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OF CONCERN BY GREEK REPRESENTATIVE THAT OIL WEAPON MIGHT BE USED IN SUPPORT OF PALESTINIAN CAUSE AS WELL AS OF ARAB GOVERNMENTS' TERRITORIAL POSITIONS.

SYG LUNS, WHO WAS PARTICULARLY OUTSPOKEN IN BOTH HIS PESSIMISM AND HIS CRITICISM OF ARAB UNGA RESOLUTION OF PALESTINE ISSUE, CLOSED SESSION BY REITERATING REMARKS OF ALL THANKING SECRETARY KISSINGER FOR HIS OUTSTANDING EFFORTS TOWARD PEACE IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND EXPRESSING THE HOPE OF CONTINUING SUCCESS FOR HIS FURTHER EFFORTS. END SUMMARY

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